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Trudeau flouts Cruise protests



06-07-10

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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by Paul Kane

As the globe trembles under the increasing weight of the nuclear arms build-up, and a 53% majority of Canadians in a poll express their fear that World War III is "likely," Prime Minister Trudeau pushed the country into taking a qualitative leap into the nuclear arms drive.

Although only days earlier in Ottawa Trudeau had appeared to dissociate himself from U.S. President Reagan's deploy-now, negotiate-later stance in Europe, his External Affairs Minister MacEachern lined up solidly behind Washington to im-

pell the heads of the NATO alliance into firming up their decision to deploy 572 U.S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in five West European countries before the years end. Nonetheless, responding to the mounting continental wide anti-war movement, Greece registered its outright refusal. While the defence minister of Denmark expressed his support, the Danish parliament demanded a continued delay in the placing of the missiles. The basis of Spain's reservations was revealed just ten days later, when 100,000 Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding an immediate referendum on their country's withdrawal from NATO and the removal of U.S. military bases from Spanish soil.

While the heads of state of three European NATO allies were compelled to forthrightly refuse missiles on their country's soil, only a fortnight later, after Trudeau announced the long anticipated receipt of a formal request from Washington to test the Cruise in Northern Alberta, his government permitted a non-confidence vote on the question. The motion submitted by the NDP read as follows: that the house "should express its opposition to the escalation of the nuclear arms race by any nation and in particular, its opposition to Canada's participation by testing in Canada any nuclear weapon or nuclear delivery vehicle such as and including the Cruise Missile." Only one Liberal, former cabinet minister Warren Allmand, along with four Progressive Conservatives, voted with the NDP which tallied 34 votes for, 213 against.

Uneasy that this fall will see the

most massive anti-war actions yet, both here in Canada and across the globe, Defence Minister Gilles Lamontagne expressed his impatience with the NDP when forced to admit that low-angle radar testing for the Cruise was already underway on the Alberta site on the basis of an agreement with U.S. authorities back in 1979, signed when Ottawa was protesting innocence of any knowledge and Litton Industries operations here had already won a U.S. contract for the manufacture of a guidance system.

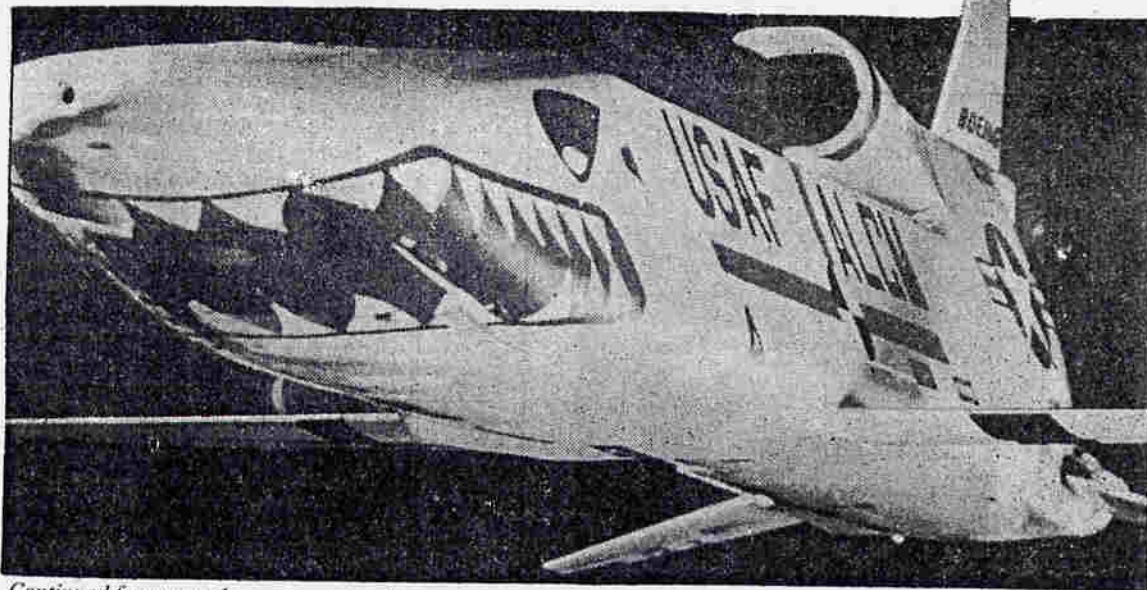
Lamontagne chastized NDP defence critic Terry Sargeant for being obsessed with the Cruise Missile. But it is just this developing obsession among the people, to which the NDP has given political expression, that has been instrumental in the phenomenal growth of the anti-war movement.

It is Trudeau's abject compliance to the U.S. State Department's efforts to entrap Canada into its perilous strategy in Central America and Europe that has fuelled the anti-war movement. And it is his fear of the popular response that caused him at Williamsburg, and in subsequent inspired interviews and open letters appearing in the mass media, to publicly dissociate his government from the Reagan administration's "approach to the Soviet Union" and its "pretty absurd" concept that a nuclear war can be won—and to, at the same time, warn both Thatcher and Reagan and his other co-leaders that "we're going to have to bust our bloody asses for peace" in order to overcome the widening perception that it is they who are threatening the world with nuclear destruction.

And now it is Trudeau's attempt to present the Cruise testing as an obligation of Canadian membership in the NATO-NORAD military alliances from which, if we don't want to comply, we should withdraw, that has posed this question too to the anti-war movement. It is through these agreements that the U.S. State Department has bound Canadian business interests to its militarization of the economy and its adventures in such countries as Nicaragua where Canadian manufactured arms

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"Obsessed with the Cruise"



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have appeared in counter-revolutionaries' hands.

While the NDP is committed to Canadian withdrawal from NATO-NORAD it has not yet, as a party, brought this demand to the fore, just as it has shown little receptivity to voting against the military budget which now stands at \$8.25 billion a year and which the government is preparing to expand considerably as it cuts back on an increasing number of critical social services.

Opposition to the Cruise is the key issue around which the anti-war movement has been and can continue to be built. Bilateral and multi-lateral disarmament concerns direct

the movement away from the areas of popular debate and action into the areas of decision completely dominated by the rulers of society and their hangers-on, transforming the popular forces into a movement desperately seeking points on their agenda from where it might apply pressure for piecemeal concessions. The Cruise protest directs the struggle frontally against those here at home who are responsible for Canadian involvement in politics that can only result in a nuclear holocaust—the Liberal-Tory parties of Big Business and their complicity with U.S. State Department policies—and leads the working people of Canada in struggle to decide things for themselves and in

their own interests.

The anti-Cruise movement's response to Trudeau's statement that the decision on the Cruise specifically will be made as soon as practical, possibly before September, was clear and direct. Bert Kesser of the Toronto Against Cruise Testing Coalition told the press: "They can expect one hell of a response" the first one with the mobilization this coming August 6—Hiroshima Day.

The test vote that Trudeau carried off among the MPs in the house on June 14 is so at variance with the visible popular will against the Cruise that preparations for a popular referendum on this question should be considered.

06-07-16

Ont. Steel union exposes police-regulated spies

06-07-2

In what has been hailed as a landmark judgement, the Ontario Labour Relations Board has ordered a private investigation company to pay damages of up to \$250,000 to members of the United Steelworkers union. Automotive Hardware, in suburban Toronto, hired Securicor and Investigations Limited, which supplied a spy-agent provocateur — to work on its shop floor, infiltrate the union which had organized its employees, disrupt the local's functioning, and later in 1981 to attempt to break a strike that the union organized against the company.

Evidence of such nefarious practices by the sinister and burgeoning private investigation industry figured prominently in the report of the Royal Commission headed up by Mr. Justice Horace Krever released in 1981. The commission was struck off by the Ontario government to investigate charges of RCMP violations of the security of health information in attempts to disrupt and if possible destroy left wing organizations in the early seventies. After examining the files of private investigating companies the commission revealed that they had been used by scores of eminent lawyers to gain access to confidential health information from hospital and OHIP staff relevant to insurance claims. The Ontario Provincial police, responsible for the regulation of such

private investigators, according to Justice Krever "seems to have viewed its functioning primarily as an automatic licensing bureau" and the industry is "out of control".

The Ontario Labour Relations Board from evidence presented over 16 days of hearings found Securicor and the secret agent that it supplied the company, a David Ivers, guilty of a wide range of illegal acts in "serious and flagrant" violation of the provincial Labour Relations Act. Much of the evidence was drawn from Ivers' daily reports to Securicor's director of intelligence which were forwarded to the vice-president of operations for the Automotive Hardware group of companies. Without even taking into account the provocative character of Ivers' activity, the board ruled that such spying is illegal, that it "strikes at the heart" of the collective bargaining framework.

Among violations of the act was an attempt to entice the local's president into theft of company property for which he could be fired; fomenting dissent among union members and organizing challenges to the decisions of union leaders; encouraging strikers to commit illegal acts against individuals and property by actual example.

At the start of the strike, Ivers asked the company to specify information it wanted "or any informa-

tion they would like delivered". The board panel found that Ivers' reports to the company resulted in stalling bargaining for about 5 weeks after when it estimated a settlement would have been reached, hence its financial award to the company's employees for lost wages and to the union for its strike administration costs extended through that period.



Labor spy David Ivers posing as striking Steelworker on Toronto area picket line.

Work-sharing ploy vs shorter work week

by The Editors

According to the policy makers of the Liberal and Tory party machines it is the private sector, the capitalist entrepreneurs, who are to be counted upon to supply the juices necessary to revive the economy and provide jobs for the some 1.5 million Canadians it is now admitted desperately need them.

Even those figures released by Ottawa do not really reveal the plight of youth now blocked from even entering the work force and the frustration of women aspiring to get out of the low wage ghettos to which they have been assigned. According to David Wolfren of the Metro Toronto Planning Council, Stats Canada figures amount to a "statistical sleight of hand." They do not take into account hundreds of thousands who have now given up looking for work and those who have been compelled to take part-time work. The true number, he estimates is much closer to 2.4 million or 19.4%.

In the meantime the Liberal and Tory governments are doing everything they possible can to stimulate the economy into action, which, as they slyly admit means finding ways to stimulate capital's appetite for profits.

Risking popular indignation against "corporate welfare bums" they have been sluicing millions of dollars of public funds from the treasuries of provincial and federal governments into those of the insatiable giant monopolies. But obviously with little results for the jobless. Dozens of corporations have accepted government hand-outs but closed down their Canadian branch-plant operations notwithstanding. Others such as White's in Brantford remain closed pending corporate decision. While shares of Massey-Harris soar in value on the stock market scarcely a wheel turns in any of its factories and its Toronto plant is now slated for demolition. The number of one industry towns across the country that have become "ghost towns," multiplies.

They have even innovated such schemes as seductively labelled "Work Sharing"—a program to stave off layoffs from becoming partial plant closures and even complete shutdowns, which have great merit in the employers eyes also, for workers actually working

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Work-sharing ploy

Continued from page 1

are the essential means for their accumulating their profits. Now we have a partial balance sheet from Employment Ministry Axworthy of this program which was launched in December, 1981. As layoffs and shutdowns continued to mount its token bank roll was increased 35 fold to \$350 million.

The agreements allow companies intending to enforce layoffs, instead of reducing their staff, to shorten working hours. The employees' loss of wages is partially made up by putting them on unemployment insurance rolls — ripping off the fund which they and the rest of the working force will be charged with recompensing. Appealing to workers' feelings of solidarity with one another it imposes the cost of the project onto the backs of the workers.

According to one estimate those workers who would not have been laid off but gave up hours at the union rate of pay in exchange for unemployment insurance rates so that others would not be laid off, sacrificed 16% in gross weekly pay. Those who would have been laid off received 53% more pay than they would have received if they had only drawn unemployment insurance. The agreements signed by locals violate CLC policy barring cutbacks and givebacks to employers, even granted less hours were worked, by accepting a substantial cut in take-home pay. The agreements also shelved hard-won seniority rights.

Work sharing places the burden entirely on the worker. Demanding sacrifice on the part of some who cannot afford it, supposedly in the interests of others, it actually serves to divide the workers. Thus it weakens labor's efforts to sustain a united front against concessions and give-backs.

Some 12,000 firms have been in the program. How many took

advantage of it, and despite worker acceptance of their part of the deal, went to the wall, is not known. One economist saw merit in the programs if they only "give the unemployed a sense of participation."

A survey of opinion in the Brantford area found the employers were much more in favor of the project than were the workers.

One employer stressed that the project removed the risk of his losing some of his skilled and trained work force. An official estimated that to lay off a worker and then hire a new one later costs more than \$1,000 a position — to lay off and recall a worker costs about \$400.

A rubberworkers local president was extremely sceptical — "It was a good thing for a certain period of time. It's not a good thing to continue forever. It's a bandaid solution." An autoworker local president, while viewing it more favorably, saw it as only temporarily useful, and stressed its political expediency. "It takes the heat off the politicians to really address the problems of the economy — an industrial strategy, interest rates. It was an 'out' for the politicians", he said.

But it has also in a certain sense served as an "out" for the trade union leadership. By playing on sentiments of working class solidarity and pivoting on shortening the work week it tends to defuse pressure to mobilize an effective fight against unemployment through the launching of a united struggle to establish a shorter work week at the same take home pay.

If the struggle for such a demand in a period of massive unemployment when it is most needed, would seem to be extremely difficult and "unrealistic," the efforts of the leadership of the CLC to firm up union ranks against concessions and give-backs, while noble, is in fact in many circumstances utopian and has proved to be so.

Faced with blackmail threats of either concessions or closure and unemployment, with little or no job alternatives, militants attempting to mobilize resistance become isolated. Often there is more behind the employers demand for give aways and cutbacks than whether they will make it more profitable to continue operation of this or that project under given market conditions. Today, in a period of considerable technological change, many corporations have so bled their operations as to render them no longer competitive, and even see the present crisis as a challenge and as an opportunity, given the many considerations available through government offices, to make their operations "lean and mean," to meet the next turn in the economy.

The economic crisis has taken a tremendous toll on the unions. Bankruptcies, massive cutbacks in operations, the dumping of capital-starved run-down outmoded plants, runaways, have resulted in a drastic loss in union membership, the clearing out of strike funds, ruthless curtailments of union services; and have even wiped out locals and entire unions.

What is needed is a program that can link up those still on the shop floor, fighting through their unions against cutbacks and give-aways, with those who have been tossed out and into the ranks of the new generation cynically conceded to be facing extended unemployment. There is one demand around which these forces can be solidarized — the progressive shortening of the work-week to ensure everyone who seeks one, the right to have a job — at the current or recent take-home pay.

In recent years the CLC has embarked on drives that have succeeded in mobilizing not only its own forces but substantial sections of the rest of the population. Prepare for a day of protest against unemployment! For a day of struggle to guarantee jobs for all.

Go Left urges NDP Caucus

The Ontario NDP Left Caucus has responded to the draft manifesto that has been prepared and been circulated by the federal leadership with a counter manifesto of its own. It calls upon the party which will be in convention this July in Regina to respond to the horrendous impact that the developing capitalist crisis is having on the working class and in particular on the youth and women by raising once again, as it did at its founding fifty years ago, the banner of socialism.

At least six ridings in the Toronto area have endorsed the caucus manifesto and, as many again Ontario ridings outside of Toronto. It has been endorsed by the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship of Alberta and a growing list of prominent individuals including Ontario NDP MPPs Richard Johnston, Floyd Laughrin, Toronto Alderman Jack Layton, Kay Macpherson, and others.

While the federal leadership launched the discussion with its draft, it was received so negatively that it has withdrawn it and submitted a two or three page statement. David Tomczak informed a June 11 meeting of Toronto supporters of the Left caucus that some 30 activists in Saskatchewan have met and signified their support of the caucus manifesto. Now rumour has it that Saskatchewan NDP leader Blakeney and Alberta leader Notley are circulating their version of a statement of principles.

Caucus hits Expulsions

The Toronto area supporters of the Left Caucus, along with preparations for the coming federal NDP convention, discussed recent expulsions from the Ontario NDP. The resolution presented by Gordon Doctorow (Oriole) was adopted. It reads as follows:

Whereas organizational measures against fellow NDPers tend to disrupt and violate the process of settling political differences through democratic debate, through the defining of ideas, and through the sustaining of the will of the majority; and whereas the recent expulsion of two members of the Ontario NDP who hold membership in the Revolutionary Workers League tends to set up a dangerous atmosphere in the party that could develop into a political witchhunt.

Therefore be it resolved that this Toronto conference of Left Caucus supporters 1. declare its opposition to the recent expulsions by the provincial council at its March 14 meeting as did our previous meeting of Ontario-wide left caucus supporters, without discernible dissent, and 2. make known to anyone concerned that it disapproves of actions by any persons who might be identified with the Left Caucus if such actions in any way could be seen to be in support of the expulsions.

08-07-4

Profane day of labor unity over Poland's Solidarnosc

by Jean Laplante

This year, May Day rallies and demonstrations were held in the major cities across the country. The massive response to the great success of the Cruise missile protests a week earlier which saw an estimated 22,000 at Toronto's City Hall square, and deep concern in labor's ranks about mounting unemployment, added to the growing involvement of the trade union movement in May Day actions in recent years, assured their success.

The Toronto plans were for a rally at Queen's Park and a march to the Ukrainian Labour Temple meeting with featured speakers Wally Majeski, president of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, Sean O'Flynn, president of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, Dan Heap, NDP MP Spadina and Communist Party of Canada Labour Secretary William Stewart. But it took an unexpected turn. The following day over the name of its president the Metro Toronto Labour Council issued a formal press release (see elsewhere on this page). The circumstances that lead to this sharp statement were as follows:

Leading Toronto Solidarity Support activist Stephen Dankowich, also involved in the Toronto Unemployed Workers Union, which is listed as one of the sponsors of the May Day action, contacted one of the officials with regards to TSSC participation. He was informed of the date of the next organizing meeting and asked to submit a 40-50 word greeting for publication in the program notes. This was submitted and apparently readily accepted for publication. However when three Solidarity Support activists appeared at the meeting the chair ruled that their organization was of no consequence, barred them from participation, and even from uttering a word of protest to the handful in attendance. The following meeting of the Unemployed Workers Union which is endorsed along with the Solidarity Support

Committee, by the Metro Labour Council, passed a motion protesting the barring of the Solidarity Committee from the May Day Committee.

As news was coming in of the Jaruzelski regime's brutal attack on Solidarity supporter demonstrations in major Polish cities, Toronto Solidarity support activists and friends, including some of the Unemployed Workers Union, appeared with their banner at the Toronto rallying point to protest their exclusions with some hurriedly prepared signs reading: Workers of the World Unite means behind the Polish workers too, and, May Day Cannot be Silent on Polish Workers Suppression. They were quickly ringed off on the edge of the main body by parade marshalls under the direction of well-known members of the Communist Party who had filled many of the official posts.

The police, who had been approached by the marshalls, informed the Solidarity support forces that they would not be allowed to join the parade nor even come up in the rear on the street since, unlike the parade

from which they had been barred, they had no permit. The police conceded that they could not stop them from marching on the sidewalk as long as there was no disturbance.

As the parade moved off, the 40 to 50 Solidarity supporters were threatened by a pushing and shoving mobilization of marshalls. As it moved onto the streets the marshalls formed an arm-in-arm line separating the demonstrators on the street from those on the sidewalk who they loudly baited as Reganites and CIA agents. Both forces shouted the slogans in support of the anti-imperialist struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador, opposition to the arms drive and, for jobs, in complete unison. As the parade approached the meeting place the Solidarity supporters moved off so that there could be no excuse for a hassle.

That evening's extended CBC coverage concentrated on shots and comments on the CP's disruption of a demonstration dedicated to labor's unity against their oppressors. It ended with an interview with the president of the labour council along the lines of the press release.

Denounced by Labour Council

There has been some controversy surrounding the support of "Solidarity" by the Canadian Trade Union movement arising out of yesterday's May Day activities in Metro Toronto.

For the record, the Labour Movement in Metropolitan Toronto supports the Polish Solidarity Trade Union movement. And secondly, recognizes and supports the Metro Toronto Committee in Support of Solidarity.

Regarding the whole question of whether Solidarity supporters should have been excluded or barred from marching in the May Day parade, our position is quite

clear and unequivocal. We do not think anybody should be excluded from either marching, or in fact celebrating, May Day — either now or in the future.

Secondly, May Day is an international day of celebrating support for working people around the world, and should this ever happen again in future, the Labour Council wouldn't, under any circumstances, participate in an activity which precludes or bars any group, regardless of their political affiliation.

**Wally Majeski, President
Metro Toronto Labour Council
May 2, 1983**

U.S. Union brass put hold on Hamilton local's treasury

by P. Kent

The members of Hamilton Steelworkers Local 1005, confronted by the Stelco bosses' campaign to wring concessions from them as negotiations for a new contract get underway, have suffered a crippling blow at the hands of the Pittsburg leadership of the union.

The international is withholding \$50,000 a month for the next 8 months from the local's treasury. This amounts to about half of the usual dues kickback which it receives from automatic dues deduction in order to carry out the day-to-day services of the local. This attack on the local's operations has been justified on the grounds that \$391,567 negotiated as part of the 1981 settlement to clear outstanding medical, dental and drug bills incurred by members during the 4 month long strike, should have been refunded

to the international's strike fund and not used to pay outside bills incurred by the local.

International President McBride has appointed Canadian Steel director Gerrard Docquier and District Three director Len Stevens to examine the local's financial administration, suggesting that even more is owed the strike fund. Opposition forces in Local 1005 have taken advantage of the controversy — with the treasurer refusing to sign certain cheques — and a recent local meeting attended by about 250 of the local's 10,000 members rejecting by a narrow margin an executive motion seeking support for its fight against the international.

1005's President Cec Taylor sees the local as a victim of a "dangerous political game". The international officers are against me, he told the press, "because I am a nationalist, a left-wing socialist, and I'm tough". Taylor sees the international wanting him out of the way because he is opposed to their concessions policy. In the U.S. the union has agreed to a 41 month contract with a temporary wage reduction of \$1.25 an hour and cutbacks on many benefits. Taylor has long been a champion of Canadian autonomy.

The international leadership's sequestering of Local 1005 resources took place as a policy conference was convening in Quebec City to hear a report of a task force that had been struck off by the 1981 Steelworkers convention.

The question of Canadian autonomy was a subject of deep concern to the delegates. Ontario director Dave Patterson directed it towards consideration of a proposal that a Canadian constitution be drawn up. Subsequently Patterson announced he had changed his mind. According to the task force's report only 12% of the 341 submissions proposed any changes to the constitution that would increase in any way the autonomy of the Canadian section.

With only a few dissenters the conference supported an amendment to the international constitution

that amounted to a token recognition of the Canadian director as the union's official spokesperson in Canada. The 10,000 member Local 1005 was conspicuously unrepresented at the policy conference.

In the meantime Local 1005, according to Taylor will be staffed by volunteers, except for the presidency. "We're going back to the old times when union services were voluntary".

Hit unemployment with shorter week

The 40-hour week has to go, declared Region 4 vice-president Art Gruntman when his union opened negotiations to renew its contracts expiring June 30. The Canadian Paperworkers (CLC) advanced as their key demand a 36 hour work week with a 12% wage increase. "There just has to be more jobs, more employment created," stressed Gruntman in response to an industry spokesman's exclamation that "the shorter work week is something that surprises us."

According to the officers of the Pulp and Paper Industrial Relations Board the union move towards a shorter work week to assure everyone the right to a job is "hopelessly uneconomic in B.C. today" and "would endanger the future of the industry." As if the unemployment that is plaguing pulp and paperworkers isn't "uneconomic" and doesn't "endanger" their and their families' present and future.

Dowson suit goes before Federal Supreme Court

The efforts by Ross Dowson and Howard Buchbinder to have a stay of proceedings withdrawn so that they can lay charges against the RCMP will be heard by the Supreme Court of Canada on June 9. Their attempts to lay charges in the Ontario courts, following the Ontario attorney-general's failure to do so, were finally blocked by Attorney-General Roy McMurtry himself in the fall of 1980 by his issuance of the stay. McMurtry's action set a far-reaching precedent by violating the long-standing right of private citizens to initiate the criminal process.

Dowson commenced his actions following the admission by the RCMP before the Krever Commission in March 1979 that they had forged, uttered and circulated false documents against the now defunct League for Socialist Action. This was followed up shortly after by the McDonald Commission revelations of the RCMP's massive "thought control" Operation Checkmate. Of all the RCMP illegalities this was specifically directed against organizations, which while of completely legitimate dissent, adhered to or were thought to adhere to the body of ideas called Marxism, and was designed to destabilize them and destroy them.

Buchbinder attempted to lay charges against four unnamed members of the RCMP Security Service for possession of stolen Praxis Corporation documents knowing them to have been obtained by the commission of an indictable offense following the burglarizing of its offices and

their being set on fire in 1970. In 1981 the McDonald Commission report suggested that the RCMP might be liable for unlawful possession of property obtained by crime since they had retained the stolen documents for nearly seven years.

The Dowson appeal won the support of the Canadian Civil Liberties

Association, with its counsel Ian Scott appearing before the lower courts and before the Supreme Court. Toronto lawyer Paul Copeland argued the Dowson and Buchbinder cases together before the Court of Appeal in September 1981 and will do so in the coming Supreme Court hearing in Ottawa.

Blocks RCMP testimony before Toronto judge

Ross Dowson's suit against the RCMP in the Toronto Small Claims Court finally came up on May 24 — only to have Judge Marvin Zuker reserve judgement as to whether it should even go to trial. The RCMP's battery of lawyers through John Laskin, immediately moved its dismissal on the grounds that it would now be in violation of the six year statute of limitations.

Dowson launched the action against two RCMP officers following the RCMP's sensational admission in March 1979, upon his submission of some letters to the Krever Commission, that it had forged and transmitted false messages at a convention with the purpose of destabilizing the now defunct League for Socialist Action; and the release just one year later of hitherto secret testimony before the McDonald Commission on the infamous Operation Checkmate by Assistant Commissioner Chisholm and Superintendent Yaworski that they had been in charge of the operation.

While suits before the Small Claims Court permit only a maximum of \$3,000 in damages and are usually speedily processed, the hearing of the RCMP's motion of dismissal stretched over two full days. Both Chisholm and Yaworski took the stand to frankly admit having committed the criminal acts in 1972-73; but attempts to question them by Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto were blocked by interventions of lawyer Lorne Murphy, representing the federal solicitor general and attorney-general, on the grounds that their answers would endanger Canada's national security. Harvey Strosberg, who had been the attorney for the Krever Commission, and Ross Dowson both took the stand. Dowson testified that he and his co-thinkers had suspicions of RCMP involvement at the time, but did not actually know until the RCMP confessed in 1979 and 1980. Kopyto was aided by Harvey Berkel and the well-known Toronto human rights lawyer Charles Roach.

Supporters make case for aid to defence fund

by Harry Paine

Right from the very beginning, now some five years ago, in the early spring of 1978, M.P. Svend Robinson, then NDP justice critic, gave a powerful boost to the Socialist Rights Defense Fund.

Now Lynn McDonald, prior to her even being elected the member from Broadview, and now the new NDP justice critic, added her signature in support of the SRDF statement of purpose. She enclosed \$50 for the Fund to help pay the costs of the suit initiated by Ross Dowson to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in the face of charges of subversion by the federal RCMP.

While the suit has been strung out five years, and dropped by the mass media on the phoney allegation that it has no news interest, and mailing costs have gravely restricted our own publicity, support continues to come in from across the country.

Recently \$50 arrived from R. H. Prinsep of Vancouver with a note addressed "to whom it may concern," which read in part:

"I am sure that because of some of my own activities the reason I do not have my occupation with the civil service today is because of pressure which probably involved the RCMP. (When you know that 800,000 Canadians are on file with the RCMP intelligence and its so-called "'civilian' successor — how can you think otherwise?) Let us hope the international courts show more courage than their Canadian counterparts. Civil rights in Canada in the future will much depend on the final outcome of this suit."

That inveterate fighter for Prisoner's Rights, Claire Culhane sent in a hard-to-come-by contribution along with a note telling us that her charge of common assault, against a penitentiary guard who prodded her with a rifle off penitentiary grounds, has been dismissed and she is now

"head(ed) in for their charge against me of 'unlawful trespass,' etc." She writes to us "Bon courage! and don't stop!"

Coming off the West Coast we have heard from Sven Sandberg of Edmonton, Dal Laxdal and Anna Dandard of Swan River who have been responding generously regularly, J. & A. Vorst in Winnipeg, Phil Brown in Sudbury and dozens of persons in Southern East and West Ontario, and Bill Roberts in Westmount along with a welcome contribution of \$50 made in the name of La Ligue des droits et Libertés.

These funds along with a loan of several hundreds of dollars have enabled us to meet various expenditures including running expenses, our lawyers basic legal expenses, printing etc. etc. But this still leaves an accumulation of costs levied against us by the various levels of the courts, now totalling over \$4,000. The defendant in the suits designated as 'The Queen' employs the highest paid lawyers: including J.J. Robinette, Pierre Genest, and now in the Toronto small claims court, the son of Supreme Court Justice Laskin. This summer Dowson was questioned under oath by a Special Examiner for the Supreme Court as to the value of the goods and chattels that he has accumulated in the course of almost fifty years activities in the labor and socialist movement.

Dowson assured the examiner that he recognized the debt, and has always had every intention of paying it, with the judgement he hopes to win in his suit against the RCMP in Toronto's Small Claims Court. We need help now as we come down the final lap of these suits that have become central in this historic struggle for justice. Sent your contribution to SRDF, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto, Ontario M4K 1V5.

06-07-8

CB-07-9

Gov't closes books to cover role in RCMP scandals

by Paul Kane

Not one RCMP officer has been charged or ever will be charged, let alone prosecuted, as far as the federal justice minister and solicitor-general, and every provincial attorney's general office across Canada, is concerned — other than Quebec's.

And even though the Quebec government has laid 50 charges against 17 mounties, so far only one has gone to trial and been found guilty — for his participation in the Operation Ham break-in and theft of the membership lists and financial and confidential records of the official opposition in the Quebec legislature at that time — the Parti Quebecois. Guilty Superintendent Alcide Yelle was handed a token six month probation and six month suspended sentence. Not only does he still hold his post as officer in charge of administration of the RCMP's New Brunswick division, but the solicitor-general has affirmed that he is under consideration for the job of RCMP commanding officer there.

Of two RCMPers charged in the Quebec courts with kidnapping, one pleaded guilty of unlawful confinement and was handed an unconditional discharge. The other pleaded that he had only committed the offense under orders — and was given an absolute discharge. Nine others facing the same charge as Yelle will have their trial date set early this coming September.

This cynical decision by the country's political and legal establishment has been denounced as "outrageous" by the general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. "This is one of the most blatant outrages perpetrated on the public in years," declared Alan Borovoy who led a five-person delegation on January 25 protesting that failure to prosecute RCMP officers creates "a double standard" in law and undermines the very concept of "the public's respect for the rule of law." Borovoy told the press that Justice Minister MacGuigan showed absolute refusal to alter that decision. The meeting went "badly," he said.

The federal government's decision leaves as the only legal actions against the RCMP, aside from those in Quebec, a suit initiated by Howard Buchbinder and two suits initiated by Toronto socialist Ross Dowson.

This incredibly cynical decision to close the books on the flood of revelations of RCMP violations of the law and the most basic civil rights of the Canadian people, that commenced to

rock the country back in March 1976, was taken behind the backs of the people — in secret — sometime before June 20 of last year.

The flood of revelations, in its inexorable course, exposed that the RCMP, since the '50s has opened first class mail in blatant contravention of the Postal Act, violated the security of Health records, misused confidential tax and employment information, and in the implementation of the infamous "thought control" Operation Checkmate alone, conspired to violate rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, committed fraud, private and public mischief, communicated false messages, criminal slander, attempted assault, threatening bodily harm, etc., etc. In its report, the McDonald Commission Inquiry, which cost the taxpayers over \$8 million, further revealed that the RCMP had amassed Security Service dossiers on more than 800,000 individuals. In its brief to the commission, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour (CLC) protested that the entire trade union movement has been implicitly branded as subversive.

It was NDP justice critic Svend Robinson, at a late November session of the Commons Committee, in a repeat inquiry as to whether there would be no prosecution under any federal statute, who elicited the casual admission from Solicitor-General MacGuigan that there will be absolutely no federal prosecutions. MacGuigan released a letter dated July 20 by his predecessor, now Energy Minister Jean Chretien, affirming this.

Robinson asked Kaplan to publish previously suppressed portions of the McDonald report that were for-

warded to Alberta, B.C. and Ontario which he has refused to do until he receives written confirmation from Ontario's Attorney-General McMurtry that no charges are pending — an assurance that McMurtry has made publicly for some time now. McMurtry's refusal to lay charges and his blocking Dowson's attempt to do so, are the subject of Dowson's appeal to the Supreme Court.

Robinson, commenting on the government's action, stated: "It is definitely a fear of the Liberal government that if there were trials, that inevitably the finger would point higher. That has to be the justification for not prosecuting."



Human rights lawyer Harry Kopyto [left] with Ross Dowson.



NDP M.P. Svend Robinson

Open Letter from *Forward* to the Winnipeg rally

Is the Cdn Left coming

The following is an Open Letter addressed by the editors of **FORWARD** to the participants in the Marx Centenary Conference—*Marxism in the Next Two Decades*—held at the University of Manitoba over March 12-15

"IS THE CANADIAN LEFT COMING TOGETHER?" queries a headline on the cover of a recent issue of *Canadian Dimension*. Its timeliness is backed up by a statement from the editors, and four articles, three of them from different points across the country, one a report on relevant developments in Great Britain by Cy Gonick.

Along with a subsequent one by British revolutionary Tariq Ali, these articles appear as a backdrop, so to speak, to the Marx Centenary Conference — *Marxism in the Next Two Decades* — being held at the University of Manitoba over March 12-15.

The editorial is an appeal to socialists to address themselves to the people of Canada with "a clear and bold statement of the socialist alternative" to the crisis that the capitalist system has imposed upon them — "to re-establish the seemingly abandoned notion of socialism as a VISION — a vision of a better future."

The question, as the editors see it, is a political one: "How do we practice a socialist politics in Canada in the late 20th century? What forms of political organization do we use to mobilize the labor movement and progressive popular movements around a socialist alternative and toward the goal of a genuine socialist transformation of society?"

All the various contributions that addressed this question share a common view that an effective socialist politics requires a clear recognition of the centrality of the trade unions, the organized labor movement. The Canadian Labour Congress has specifically endorsed the New Democratic Party as its political arm, and with the stepped-up assault on labor's ranks by boss party governments across the country, it is in the process of committing even greater efforts and resources than before behind the NDP. But if the contributors mention the NDP at all, they do so only in passing, sometimes even with the dismissive label "social democratic," or as the very force against which a "real" socialist movement must be built.

The Manitoba Socialist Coalition, according to a report by Jim Silver, rejects any concept of power, of challenging the capitalist class for control of the machinery of power, either electorally or by some revolutionary process. Rather it projects a vague and even somewhat whimsical concept of "cultural politics" — a process by which the hegemony of bourgeois ideas gives way to the expansion of a new "common sense" socialism.

The call from the Committee for a New Beginning, issued over the name of Kevin Annett of Vancouver, raises once again as a rallying point for all to gather round, the banner of a new vanguard formation. But why this refurbished "state capitalist" eleven-point projection will serve as a

Basis of Unity for Socialists in Canada at this juncture is not at all clear.

A more modest and it would seem a more realistic concept is outlined in a report by Susan Johnson of a two-day conference held last spring of over 100 socialists of many stripes from across Atlantic Canada. While the conference failed to project any area for common work experience, it virtually unanimously decided to produce and distribute a newsletter of regional activities which its supporters are involved in and which will also serve as a vehicle for debate on strategy and analysis, and to organize forums for debate on issues of importance to the region. Another across-Atlantic conference is slated for this Spring.

Perhaps the most important contribution, not for what he himself projects for the Canadian left, but for what he says about developments in Great Britain, is the report by Cy Gonick. From his comments on the founding conference of the Socialist Society of Great Britain which he, along with 1300 delegates attended last February, it is clear that it is an attempt to build a bridge between socialists, who for various reasons are "unwilling to join the Labour Party and yet not wanting to be excluded from influencing its direction," and those socialists such as The Militant Tendency and others, who are in the thick of the ongoing fight within the actual structures of the Labour Party against its reformist leadership, to build it and put it in power with a socialist policy.

The decline in the longstanding sectarianism of the British left with regards to the Labour Party "may be related," as Gonick puts it "to despair produced by the stagnation and in some cases collapse of far left parties in Great Britain, but also to the dramatic growth of an organized Labour Left and the struggle to organize for socialism (not left social democracy)" — he avers — "within the Labour Party."

Instead of making the obvious link of this attempt to build the Marxist left inside the British Labour Party to efforts (no matter how modest in comparison he may think them to be) to build the socialist left in Canada's Labour Party, the NDP, Gonick veers off to parallel it to the amorphous, one-shot counter-propaganda play of the Popular Summit in Ottawa in the summer of '81.

With the widespread proof on every hand that capitalism doesn't work, *Canadian Dimension's* editors see the opportunity to win a viewing for the socialist vision as being more favorable than ever before. Besides, more Canadians than at any previous time in their history conceive of themselves in some way as Marxists. We are referring not only to the widespread influence of Marxism as a tool of analysis in almost every field of social thought, but in Cana-

together?

→ to p.2

dian politics too. But paradoxically the political movement that calls itself Marxist here in Canada, as in Great Britain, is now in profound disarray.

Only last fall, **Leftwords**, which called itself BC's Independent Socialist Newspaper, financed by the Socialist Organizing Committee, abruptly ceased publication.

But the largest and apparently most powerful left movement that came out of the '60s and '70s, though extremely factionalist and permeated with petit bourgeois ultra-leftist illusions, was Maoism. Many, disillusioned with Stalinism, found an easy transition to identification with the mighty Chinese Revolution and its idolatry before a new messiah, Mao Tsetung. We are now witness to the utter collapse of Maoism in Canada.

After an extended and intense discussion carried on openly in its public press on such a wide range of questions, involving not a rejection of Marxism but its meaning and its application, so as to completely undermine its cohesiveness as a movement, the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada, **In Struggle** (*En Lutte*) dissolved itself. With an estimated membership of 1,000 activists it was larger than any other left formation. A discovery that shook it to its very roots was that, while on a world scale the situation is ripe for socialism, here in Canada we are not at all in a pre-insurrectionary situation.

Close on its heels, over December 4-5 at its Quebec District Conference, came the blow-up of the Workers Communist Party. In recent times it had been able to mobilize as many as 3,000 to its rallies. According to a report in its press, **The Forge**, for the previous three months it had been gripped by a profound crisis which went to the very core of its fundamental beliefs. According to a summary of its problems it was plagued by three chauvinisms — one was the failure to recognize the Quebec national question, another was the women question, and the other was chauvinism towards workers — which it defined as Stalinist concepts — extreme centralism, bureaucracy, and elitist concepts of leadership.

What to do in the face of "the despair produced by the stagnation" that the Left suffers here in Canada? The League for Socialist Action, in its fusion with the Revolutionary Marxist Group, re-appeared as the Revolutionary Workers League with considerably fewer forces than what they went in with. What to do in the face of the "collapse of far left parties" here in Canada — the disappearance of **Leftwords**, of **En Lutte**, and the **Forge**?

It would seem apparent that here as in Great Britain these forces are not going to be attracted to any of the still existing "far left parties," none of which, including the Communist Party of Canada, are parties in the real meaning of the word. Nor is it probable that any substantial numbers would

be attracted to any coalitions that might be formed, particularly if they fail to find common areas of activity that could serve to draw them closer on the basis of real life experiences.

Every socialist should take a place in the NDP where, as is inevitable, there are already left currents and organized left formations such as the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship in Alberta and the Left Caucus in Ontario.

It is necessary to hold onto the already too few socialist forces and to put them in touch with the working class as it is and where it is. It is necessary on this centennial of Marx's death for socialist militants to reach back to Marx and Engels, back over many of the interim experiences of other sections of the international working class that have not at all been assimilated by any important sector of the Canadian working class, in order to go side by side with the Canadian working class through their own experiences of building a mass political party of their own and drawing the lessons as the struggle unfolds.

Engels had occasion, some 40 years after he had co-authored with Marx the famed Manifesto and had assimilated the experience of the Paris Commune, to score some former German co-workers who had settled in America with not understanding "how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion: they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has to be learned by heart which then will satisfy all requirements forthwith."

He told them that rather "than it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines... it is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root, and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat."

By all criteria, the NDP is a labor party — which the American working class for all their combativity have as yet been unable to build. It has suffered many defeats and setbacks from blows dealt by the political machines of its capitalist enemy and from the hands of a liberal-reformist leadership which has a long record of harassment of the party's left wing. Wiseacres have written finish to it time and again. But it continues to survive because it is historically necessary. It has sunk deep roots in the consciousness of the masses since World War II. And it is apparent that the next radicalization as have past ones, will demand expression in it.

All Marxists should join the NDP, integrate themselves in it, just as they do in the more elementary organizations of the working class, the trade union movement, and learn how to present their ideas in the fight to put it in power with a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

06-07-106

06-07-83

Back to the party's 1933 roots

Unfurl socialist flag

by Paul Kane

The NDP federal council in Ottawa has backed off from its previous decision to present a "statement of principles and objectives" for adoption at this summer's federal convention in Regina. The decision to present such a declaration had a certain logic for Regina was the site of the party's founding just fifty years ago and the occasion of its pioneers' adoption of what has become known as the Regina Manifesto.

Instead of a 5,000 or more word declaration, it is now proposed to present a two or three page substitute statement so that with the least embarrassment the matter can be laid over until the 1985 convention.

This January a preliminary draft appeared. It was presented in March by its assigned authors in discussions in several areas across the country. However it got a roasting at the Ontario provincial council meeting, with the Toronto Rosedale riding executive even passing a motion that it was "beyond revision and that it should be withdrawn from the consideration of the convention." Its reception in Saskatchewan was also stormy. There were objections on several grounds — because of the style it was written in, but also because of its content, its political line, and then the obvious problem that there would be little time available between the April federal council meeting which might amend it before approving it, and the discussions that it was certain to arouse among the party ranks.

The editors of the *Saskatchewan Commonwealth* March 23 issue described the preliminary draft as "a watered down gruel of philosophy and program", which they excused on the grounds that the mandate was almost impossible to fulfill. But they also note that "there is no vision of the party's roots in a clearly defined democratic socialism let alone any celebration of that vision. It lies limp on the page, a bland denial of the vitality that inspired the original party and the manifesto it seeks to honour."

Should it be scrapped? The editors question such a drastic reversal on the grounds that "the process is now too public to abort: failure to deliver



COLIN CAMERON, a prominent leader of the B.C. CCF, was one of the most intransigent opponents of the year's long campaigns to turn the 1933 Regina Manifesto's commitment of the party to "eradicate capitalism" to the "make capitalism work" concept first consolidated in the Winnipeg Declaration of 1956.

the goods this July will give opposition strategists too many weapons." Yet, on the other hand they warn "the behemoth this present draft threatens to become must be abandoned. Like the capitalist system it fails to confront, its rougher edges can be smoothed by inspired tinkering but the product will still be found wanting." "Fortunately," they gasp in desperation, "in its first few paragraphs glimmers a spark which we can fan to life and fuel with our energy and our humanity until its message shines from the page." Hence this coming July we are to be presented with two or three pages.

The federal leadership's difficulties with a statement of principles and objectives are not due so much to any particular ineptness on the part of those assigned to write it but basically flow from the fact that the party has no solid theoretical grounding which to base it on and move out from. The Regina Manifesto, with its essential class analysis of Canadian society, committed the party to opposition to all wars de-

signed to make the world safe for capitalism and to nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, a planned economy and to socialism.

But commencing after World War II the majority of the leadership of the party launched a bitter struggle through which they finally succeeded in exorcising the Regina Manifesto. In 1956 the liberal-reformist "make capitalism work" Winnipeg Declaration was adopted. Then came the reconstitution of the party as the New Democratic Party in 1961 with the adoption of no statement of aims or objectives whatsoever. Matters of policy were left even more so to the party's parliamentary spokespersons' interpretation of resolutions adopted under the pressure of federal conventions and the day to day decisions of the parliamentary caucus.

Only the continued buffeting of the ongoing class struggle, the very existence of which was denied by many who participated in the dumping of the Regina Manifesto, as the party became a mass labor party formation, kept it from liquidation or dissolution into the capitalist Liberal party.

In his autobiography, *The Good Fight*, Davis Lewis, who played a critical role in this whole process, states that the contentious summary paragraph of the Regina Manifesto which declares that "No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth," was not

in the original draft. According to Lewis "it was composed during a break in proceedings to assuage (—to pacify, to mollify—) the Marxist hardliners," who helped found the party.

Lewis cynically characterized such statements as "inflexible absolutes" and contended that "inflexibility and absolutes are anathema to political action whether parliamentary or extra-parliamentary." The Winnipeg Declaration was not, according to Lewis, "a response to expediency but to social development ...in the context of a new capitalism." Capitalism had become, according to T.C. Douglas, "a tolerable system which can be regulated and controlled...."

It is the crisis of the world capitalist system and its concrete expressions in Canada that is destroying the Broadbent leadership's dream of a continuing accumulation of reforms by means of which it would imperceptibly slip us into socialism, that is revealing that they have no idea how to navigate in the stormy seas which at the same time threaten as they challenge the party. Thus we have Saskatchewan's Blakeney breaking a strike of hospital support workers leading to the defeat of the NDP government, the failure of the Broadbent parliamentary caucus during the constitutional debates to defend the special status of Quebec, sealing the fate of the party there for years to come, and recently the BC Barrett leadership me-tooing the Social Credit on the way to its biggest electoral victory yet.

The Ontario NDP Left Caucus contribution for presentation to the delegates to the coming Regina convention, in the limited space allocated to a manifesto, is a succinct analysis of the challenges before the party and an effective appeal within the framework of the experience of a wide layer of its ranks to expedite the process of turning the party around into a fighting instrument to defend the interests of the working people.

The Left Caucus has announced that copies of its draft can be obtained by ordering through David Tomczak, 375 Montrose Ave., Toronto M6G 3H2, (416) 536-6561. Contributions to cover costs will be gratefully accepted.

Hundreds gather in Winnipeg

06-07-83

Hail Marx Centennary

by Ross Dowson

The four day conference marking the centenary of Karl Marx's death that was held at the University of Manitoba this March, culminating in a mass downtown rally that hailed the relevancy of his ideas and their applicability to the crisis that capitalism has thrust on the working people of the world, was certainly a notable event.

Marxism is now established as the guideline of the majority of the world's peoples who are tearing their countries out from under the domination of capitalism. While this celebration took place in the very heart of the continent where its influence is weakest and its protagonists suffer official disapproval, it was living testimony of its profound impact in almost every area of contemporary thought. It was apparent from the wideranging panels, seminars and addresses that Marxism is now lodged deeply and firmly in the highest levels of learning from the East to the West coast of Canada as an integral part of a world-wide revival

of Marxism as it cleans itself of the distortions and stains of Stalinism-Maoism.

Among the participants from Europe were Ernest Mandel, the world's leading Marxist economist, Ralph Milliband, professor of politics and sociology and author of *Parliamentary Socialism, The State in Capitalist Society*, Goran Therborn, teacher and writer of political science and sociology, and activist in the Eurocommunist movement, Tariq Ali, British political activist and commentator in *New Left Review*, *New Statesman*, *The Guardian*, and others. They shared platforms with historian Stanley Ryerson, feminist Dorothy Smith, economist Cy Gonick, political scientist Leo Panich, sociologist Carl Cuneo, historian Greg Kealey, and a rising new generation which includes Bryan Palmer, Pauline Vaillancourt, Varda Burstyn and others.

Being held in Winnipeg it was fitting that the Marx centennial conference was preceded by a three-day symposium in the downtown facil-

ities of the University of Winnipeg on the celebrated 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. It featured among others, Norman Penner editor of *The Winnipeg General Strike*, speaking on Historians and the Strike, Linda Kealey, on Women, the Labour Movement and Socialism in Canada (1900-1920). The contributions of John Saville, University of Hull, England, and David Montgomery of Yale University, USA, on the Paradoxical Legacy: Aftermath of the 1926 British General Strike, and Immigration and Industrial Unionism in America after the First World War, situated the Winnipeg Strike in its international context.

It would be next to impossible to present any useful kind of overview or summary of the seven days of presentations, made all the more difficult in that during two of the days of the Marxist Conference, two seminars were going on simultaneously. Besides, we are informed that the major presentations will be available in paperback form shortly. Therefore we will limit ourselves at this time to



Ernest Mandel

commenting on two of the sessions held on the last day in facilities where all could attend, on themes of the widest interest and where contributions from the floor, though necessarily curtailed in time, provided the best opportunity to assess the opinions of the audience. It was apparent that the most volatile and stimulated forces were women who, while still too few, are now involved in the radicalization in larger numbers than ever before. Many in attendance are, or were until recently, associated with one of the so-called vanguard formations which

have been undergoing a profound crisis. Representation appeared strongest from Winnipeg and points west to the Pacific Coast.

The featured speaker on the seminar on Vanguard Parties was Ernest Mandel, a leading representative of the Fourth International, with spokespersons from the Revolutionary Workers League and the Workers Communist Party. Frank Cunningham, who recently left the Communist party over its support of the imposition of a brutal military regime on the Polish working class movement, contributed to the next

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seminar titled Beyond Vanguardism. According to Mandel, the socialist revolution, the first attempt to shape society in a conscious way, requires a high level of consciousness and active involvement of the working class as a whole. It cannot be achieved through spontaneous action nor can it be imposed from outside. A vanguard is needed to overcome the unevenness of the struggle as a whole and of the consciousness of its various participants. It helps to assure the continuity of the real class struggle and, governed by democratic centralism, which in the first place is not organizational but political, coordinates the diverse levels and areas of the struggle, and allows an overview.

Touching on the relationship between the vanguard and the mass movement he ridiculed the idea that 50 people constitute the vanguard — which he said has to come out of the experience of the class and be recognized by a substantial portion of the class. He saw no contradiction in vanguard elements having their own organization and also being in the mass movement — it is necessary in order to avoid sectarianism. He scored elitism. He ridiculed those who claim to know it all — there are no eternal truths — Marxists doubt all. Socialist democracy is essential to assure that we arrive as close as possible to the truth.

The speaker for the RWL presented what he considered to be the issues of concern of that organization. The speaker for the WCP expanded on some of the facts relevant to the crisis that that organization has been going through (see Open Letter). She outlined the situation as being one of transition in which the key issues to be resolved are the party, women and nationalism. Frank Cunningham, on the basis of his experience in the CP, considers what is to be done, as too early a question to be on the agenda. To the question what should we be involved with in this pre-pre-pre-period: we need to do some theoretical work on the relationship between socialism and democracy — we need to think of the problem of the vanguard party as part of the problem of the transition to socialism itself — the socialist transformation must have massive committed popular support. We need to do some empirical work with persons in the mass movements as they now exist — we need some experiences on which to reflect, through active involvement in the popular mass movements.

Speaking from the floor in the few minutes at his disposal Ross Dowson challenged the pretentiousness of the theme — Vanguard Parties. At best we have here in Canada cadre-gathering formations none of which represents an historic experience of any substantial section of the class,

and all of which are now in deep crisis. There is only one party that can be said to be a working class party here — that is the NDP and its precursor the CCF which have been endorsed by the mainstream of the organized labour movement since 1943. No political or programmatic characterization of the NDP can get around the fact that it is a mass labor party formation. Insofar as there is a crisis of Marxism it is not in its economic theory, or its philosophy, but in its politics. Marx was above all a revolutionary — a politician. For a gathering of Marxists to say nothing about the NDP is to admit to having no politics.

As a Marxist and a member of the NDP, Dowson challenged the gathering to come to grips with this crucial question. Following that, this question was then picked up from the floor by others and carried over to the next seminar — Beyond the Vanguard. There panelist Varda Burstyn hopefully characterized the situation that the left is now entering into, as a process of de-sectarianization which must not be allowed to dissipate. There is no effective revolutionary left — it has collapsed and its forces have now to work together to build a mass socialist party. Ross Dowson is right. It is important to be in the NDP and if not actually in it to be oriented to it. We don't need something that calls itself a vanguard at this time. What we need are real networks — an activist conference — and the NDP is an important problem for it to grapple with. With that, despite its not being on the platform agenda, the NDP became the central concern of the floor.

The conference seminars closed with one on the Soviet Union and China. Albert Szymanski, associated with the U.S. journal *Insurgent Sociologist*, astonished the gathering with a crude apologia for the Soviet bureaucracy. Ranging over the vast panorama of Soviet society, now almost 70 years since the victory of Lenin's party, Mandel extemporaneously, with wit, passion, and penetrating insight, related and commented on the vast gap between the living standards of the working people and the privileged position of the bureaucracy, the alienation of the masses and their political expropriation, the inferior status of women etc. etc. He hailed the struggle of Poland's Solidarnosc for workers self-management and workers control, as a vast opening of the political revolution, in his philosophical, political and oratorical tour de force.

That evening hundreds of Winnipeggers joined those who had participated in the conference, in the downtown rally chaired by Cy Gonick, and addressed by Mandel and Ralph Milliband in celebration and recognition of Marx's contribution to the realization of a socialist Canada in a socialist world of peace and plenty.

06-07-126

Ottawa's ethnic hit list exposed

by P. Kent

When the member from Saint Denis asked the government to condemn out-of-hand any keeping of secret files on ethnic leaders and groups, Minister of State (Multiculturalism) James Fleming took the bait. He indignantly "condemned such activity." He solemnly swore to the members of the House on November 2 that "the federal government would not do anything like this."

Like his predecessors who, when rumours of the decades-long RCMP violations of the law and civil rights first leaked out, also indignantly denied there was any truth in them at all, Fleming assured the House, "I checked to ensure that there is no list of ethnic leaders or any compilation of material on their backgrounds or political interests."

Two weeks later M.P. Perrin Beatty gave the lie to the Minister of State's assurances. He produced just such a secret file, placing on the record a publication entitled **A Revised Handbook of Selected Ethnic Organizations in Canada** prepared by

the Secretary of State's Citizenship Branch Department and noted as being up-to-date as of October 31, 1974. Even "additional information on many of the listed organizations and publications can be supplied by the Citizenship Branch on request," according to the preface. It alerted the listed recipients of 52 circulated copies that "its existence should remain strictly confidential" although "commentaries can be used for government purposes, provided the Handbook is not quoted ... Any correspondence relating to it should be sent to the personal and confidential attention of the Undersecretary of State (Citizenship)."

Since the existence of a secret file on ethnic leaders and groups could no longer be denied—Beatty distributed 13 pages of what turned out to be a book of some 167 pages—government spokesmen went into a tortuous act.

Fleming claimed he didn't look at it—had ordered all copies collected and destroyed — and protested it hadn't been used for 8 years—and that anyway it simply described the

purposes of groups and their affiliations with politics in their former home countries.

But of the 130 organizations dealt with under four headings—purpose, membership and organization, activities, and publications—some 17 start off with the notation on the top right-hand corner—"Communist." The first entry, The Canadian Arab Federation, is labelled as having "many extremist elements among its membership." Marked down as "strongly NDP", the Central Association of Sudeten-Germans in Canada is described: "All social activities as well as their publication have a strong political undertone advocating the principles and goals of the Labor movement and the NDP." It lists the Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) as being "founded around the University of Toronto" and "the leader of the group as Professor Papandreou teaching at York" (now Prime Minister of Greece—ed.). PAK is described as "an extreme left, world-wide political movement," its members, duly noted, "participated in an anti-war and anti-Ameri-

can manifestation on April 6, 1967 (and) ...disrupted the Easter ceremony at the local Orthodox Church in 1969."

To give an appearance of factuality and impartiality the handbook also lists such organizations as the terrorist Canadian Croatian National Resistance Society, "the most extreme and vocal group among the exile Utasha elements."

Secretary of State Serge Joyal claimed to have no knowledge of the list until Beatty revealed it, and that to his knowledge it was never used by the government for the purpose of obtaining financial contributions from or providing grants to (any person or organization)... Minister of Immigration Axworthy said he had "not known the existence of any list, nor certainly of its application in the Department of Immigration."

But as concern mounted, other ministers cautiously became more candid. Fleming adopted the stance of defender of the public treasury. He protested that he didn't consider it "reprehensible to list the purpose of an organization that's coming to you for funding... I've been doing it for the past 2½ years," he admitted. "I don't intend that the Multiculturalism Directorate fund groups which are racist, extremist or subversive," he declared.

Then, Solicitor-General Kaplan, while protesting that the information in the handbook "has never been of interest to the (RCMP) security service," admitted it has been used in federal security clearances and citizenship and immigration cases. "It may also have been used for background or contextual information for other security reports," but alas, he added, as the (RCMP) security service kept copies of it "on an open shelf in a limited-access area ... No record exists of particular occasions or frequency of use."

This fact was used by Kaplan to reject a request that his department inform any whose cases might have been affected, so that they could respond. Can't be done, replied Kaplan, because he doesn't know in which cases it was used nor how often. Fleming was so bold as to refuse to

continued overleaf

Ethnic hit list

continued from overleaf

release copies to the public on the specific grounds that they may be inaccurate or unfair. Challenged to release them so that named groups could protest their legitimacy or any inaccuracies, Fleming took the stance of self-appointed defender of any and all the named groups in their own interests. "The ethnic groups might be tarred," he said, "if they were publicly identified in a handbook that might be perceived as a 'hit list'."

And so the government tells us that once again the shredder has come into operation. The McDonald Commission was told that, on the very eve of its investigation, all the records of RCMP Operation Checkmate—a more than four-year-long cross-Canada assault directed against a wide range of individuals, groups

and political parties, designed to intimidate, disrupt and if possible destroy them—went into the shredder. Fleming went through the routine of claiming that all but one copy which he is preserving, have been shredded. But such a pretence that the slate is clean in this day of the Xerox will fool few, particularly those such as Laureano Lane, president of the Council of Ethno-cultural Organizations in Canada who called the handbook "a serious violation of human rights." "It's particularly demoralizing to ethnic groups who in spite of their contributions to Canada, still don't have the trust they merit," he said. It's distressing, said Leo Pereira, past-president of the First Portuguese Canadian Club, to discover Canada is adopting tactics common under dictatorships. We left Portugal years ago to get away from such controls.



—left column

Labor key factor in Canadian protest behind Polish Solidarity

The broad popular protest against the outlawing of the Polish independent democratic trade union Solidarnosc and the frame-up trials planned by the military regime headed by General Jaruzelski against 13 Solidarity activists, 6 of them former leaders of KOR (Workers Defence Committee) has been joined by an Open Letter addressed to the Polish Ambassador to Canada. The letter, published in the May issue of **Canadian Dimension** and **Labour Focus** is signed by 41 persons, some of whom endorsed the Solidarity Support Committee appeal. But in addition it adds the voices of Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Earl McCurdy, secretary-treasurer of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Gil Levine, research director of CUPE, Madeline Parent, Eastern vice-president of the Council of Canadian Unions, and Cec Taylor, president of Hamilton Steelworkers Local 1005.

The Solidarity Support Committee statement was initiated by some 21 persons including Canadian Labour Congress President Dennis McDermott, author Margaret Atwood, CUPE President Grace Hartman, lawyer Clayton Ruby, and literary critic H. Northrop Frye. It called for the dropping of the charges, the release of the prisoners and an end to harassment in the exercise of their democratic rights. It was placed in

Saturday March 5 weekend national edition of the **GLOBE AND MAIL**, inviting signatures and donations to finance the ad from the public at large. It won a very broad support ranging from Progressive Conservative party leader the Hon. John C. Crosbie, head of the Canadian Jewish Congress Irwin Cotler, Toronto's Liberal Mayor Eggleton, Canadian Polish Congress President Jan Kasuba, top officers of nearly every labor council in the country, the Ontario NDP parliamentary Caucus, and scores of persons from every

walk of Canadian life.

The signers of the Open Letter specifically identified themselves as opponents of "the massive repression and even murder of trade union and socialist forces by capitalist regimes in Latin America and South Africa" and "the suspension of trade union rights currently taking place in Canada." They also defended the Polish accused's "right to advocate a democratic self-managed state" as a position which is "an integral part of any meaningful socialism."

Reproduced below is an appeal that was placed in the national edition of the **Toronto GLOBE & MAIL** by the Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto. The statement of the initiating sponsors won an immediate response from scores of organizations and individuals from a wide spectrum of public opinion, reflecting the grave concern of Canadians about developments in Poland.

Stop the Show-Trials in Poland!

A new phase of repression is about to begin in Poland. Not content with outlawing the independent democratic trade union Solidarity or with effectively suppressing all other traditional means of dissent, the military regime headed by General Jaruzelski is now set to stage a series of show trials against thirteen leading Solidarity activists on charges of conspiracy and sedition. If found guilty — and the official press already berates them as such — the accused face a maximum penalty of death.

The accused are: Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Jan Litynski, Henryk Wujec, Jan Jozef Lipski, Miroslaw Chojewski (in Paris and charged in absentia), Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Jan Rulewski, Seweryn Jaworski, Grzegorz Palka, Marian Jurczyk, and Andrzej Rozplochowiski. The first six have been advisors to Solidarity and were former leaders of KOR (Workers' Defence Committee, formed to assist workers victimized in the 1976 strikes). The seven others are top Solidarity representatives.

"Everything points to a judicial farce along the lines of the Moscow Trials or the trial of Dimitrov, accused of having burned the Reichstag." So stated defendant Adam Michnik in his "Open Letter to the International Community" appealing for support.

Michnik's paralleling of the coming trials with the infamous frame-up trials staged by Stalin and with those staged by Hitler during the thirties is valid. Their aim is the same: to serve up scapegoats for the regime's own crimes against the people of Poland.

The accusations themselves, moreover, are patent fabrications.

At no time have any of the defendants advocated terrorism. They have repeatedly called for peaceful change and the democratization of public and working life through negotiations based on respect for the 1980 Gdansk Accords signed by the government. It is the state authorities

who have sabotaged this peaceful and legitimate process. It is they who have used terror and violence against an unarmed populace.

Worldwide public opinion must not allow this monstrous political frame-up to go unchallenged. If carried out, these trials and threatened executions may be but a prelude to similar measures against the thousands who are still being held in prison and others who continue to resist the repressive actions of the authorities.

We appeal to the Polish authorities:

- 1) immediately drop all charges against the accused;
- 2) immediately release them from custody;
- 3) halt all further harassment of them in exercising their legitimate rights of speech, publication and association;

AND FURTHER,

We appeal that, should the authorities persist in their present course, they grant the accused open trials held in full view of the world, and they grant representatives of properly constituted bodies of international labour and legal opinion, status before the Polish courts to monitor these trials and to participate in the defence of the accused.

INITIATING ENDORSERS: BROMLEY ARMSTRONG, former Ontario Human Rights Commissioner; MARGARET ATWOOD, author; GREGORY BASH, theologian; PIERRE BERTON, author; JUNE CALLWOOD, journalist; PAUL COPELAND, lawyer; DR. J. K. FEDOROWICZ, historian; DR. H. NORTHROP FRYE, University professor and Literary Critic; CY GORWICK of Canadian Dimension; TERESA RAKOWSKA-HARMISTONE, professor of political science, Carleton University; JOHN HARKER, international affairs director, Canadian Labour Congress; GRACE HARTMAN, president, Canadian Union of Public Employees; HARRY KOPYTO, lawyer; DENNIS McDERMOTT, president, Canadian Labour Congress; DAVE PATTERSON, director, District 6, United Steelworkers of America; NORMAN PENNER, professor of political science, York University; STAN PERSKY, author; CLAYTON C. RUBY, lawyer; GORDON SKILLINS, professor of political science, University of Toronto; JOSEF SKVORECKY, author; MEL WATKINS, professor of economics, University of Toronto.

----- (Please clip and send IMMEDIATELY) -----

I wish to be one of the signatories of the appeal.

Signed _____

Enclosed is my donation of \$ _____ to help with the cost

RUSH TO: CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SHOW TRIALS

c/o Solidarity Support Committee of Toronto, P.O. Box 174, Etobicoke, Ontario M9C 4Y2

Lawyers stymied

A group of prominent Canadian lawyers identified with human rights issues have constituted a sub-committee to send some of their number to Poland to monitor the projected trials. While slated to be staged some months ago the Jaruzelski regime has apparently put the trials on hold, as it has proven unable to block mass response at home to underground Solidarnosc appeals for protest actions and it is facing widening international protests against the frame-up trials.

Although several of the lawyers committee applied for visas some while back through the Polish Embassy in Ottawa, they were informed on June 3 that Warsaw is refusing to grant them. The refusal is based on newly raised technical grounds that permission from the court to observe proceedings must be granted in advance. Toronto lawyer Harry Kopyto has asked Ottawa to lodge a formal protest with the Polish government and help clear away the red-tape so that the Canadian lawyers can proceed as soon as the date of the trials is announced.

Protest Orwellian 1984 police bill

06-07-15

by Ross Dowson

If you thought that the massive violations of human and civil rights during the '60s and '70s, the kidnappings, the wiretappings, the buggings, the forgeries, the break-ins, the thefts, the planting of spies in the capitalist Liberal party, not to mention the trade unions, the NDP and the Native movement, were aberrations, the over-reactions of a few RCMP zealots: if you thought that the slapping of the term "subversive" on organizations on grounds, according to a top RCMP officer, that they were "at cross purposes with the maintenance of domestic stability," and the secret illegalization of Marxism as an ideology, that justified the "thought control" Operation Checkmate, was just an excess — think again.

All that was thought to be illegal and hence became the subject of official inquiries, that resulted in the resignations of several solicitors general, and even the suicide of a top RCMP officer, it now turns out, was only lacking in the proper judicial sanction. With the introduction of Bill C-157, the mandate for the new Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) now before the house of commons, the Liberal government is out to make such actions legal, under the control of more professional administrators.

"Orwellian legislation", declared NDP justice critic Svend Robinson when Solicitor-general Kaplan placed the bill before the House — a bill which contains all the necessary legislation to legitimize a totalitarian society which George Orwell prophesized in his book 1984. NDP members in the House have demanded that the government withdraw the bill and replace Kaplan. They announced that they will make every possible effort to "kill Bill C-157."

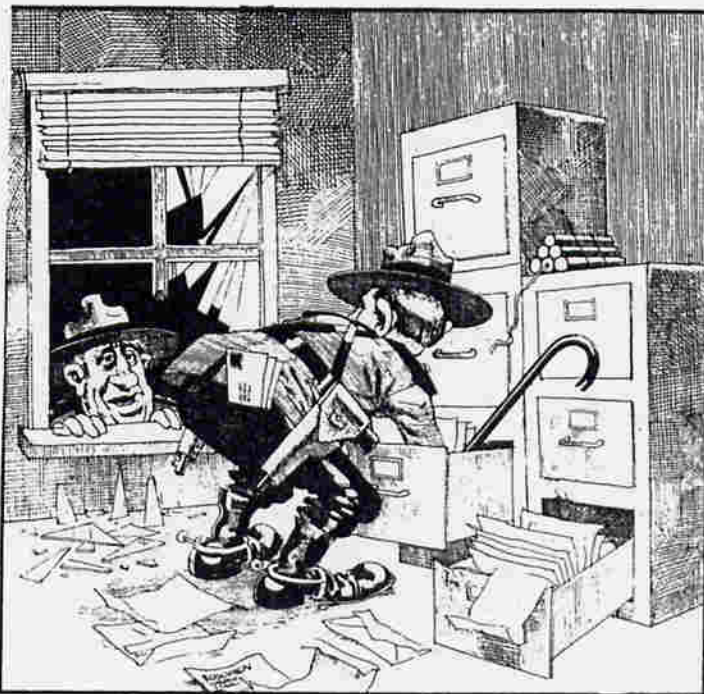
Even the highly selective, staid body of provincial attorneys general, meeting in Charlottetown, put aside their agenda to condemn the federal government's proposals as a "massive threat to the rights and freedom of all Canadians" and "an assault on democracy." The CSIS "is given a carte blanche to break any law, completely free from any independent publicly accountable scrutiny or review. The ordinary

safeguards of our criminal law have been eliminated," reads their communique.

Even Attorney-general Roy McMurtry, who himself blocked private prosecution of RCMP officers, has vowed that he will personally lobby all 95 of Ontario's M.P.'s in Ottawa against its sweeping powers. The bill, he said, is very dangerous legislation when one looks at the incredibly broad definition of what constitutes a threat to national security. Other critics have pointed out that NDPer Stanley Knowles would certainly be conceived as a threat to national security with his advocacy of the abolition of the Senate, a part of "the constitutionally established system of government in Canada."

Bill C-157 has provoked a broad and deep protest from civil libertarians, law professors, the press and the public. In their June 8 editorial the *Toronto Star* declares that it is "fatally flawed in its major details." The editor of the *Globe and Mail* has declared that the bill is so bad that one doesn't know where to attack it from first, and warns in a June 4 editorial that "If Bill C-157 passes there will be no security."

In the face of the massive protests Solicitor-general Kaplan has been pulling back in the direction of conceding to a Conservative party proposal to have a Commons committee study the actual concept of creating the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to replace the discredited



"Hey Smithers, the new boss wants you to report to the office."

RCMP Security Service, but not the detailed legislation for the proposed agency which led the government to unveil the controversial mandate.

On the one hand Kaplan is pressing for its passage with the argument that national security is at risk, although as *Globe and Mail* writer George Bain has pointed out, the RCMP violations of the law "had nothing to do with national security in the accepted sense," but grew out of "the great panic, charade, or both, that was the so-called apprehended insurrection of 1970 in Canada," and "the slop-over into the thinking of the RCMP" of the FBI's Cointelpro.

On the other hand the government continues to fuel the opposition to

its Orwellian 1984 mandate that reveals its underlying but clear direction of attempting to put in place, if not into immediate use, the structures of a future repressive strong state. With Justice Minister McGuigan's evasive response to NDP MP Orlikow's queries as to whether the RCMP is investigating the peace movement, and Kaplan's revelation that lifetime, permanent warrants placing individuals under indefinite electronic surveillance already exist, opposition to Bill C-157 continues to be so fuelled that it can result in such mass pressure that the Liberal government will be compelled to scrap it. The Ontario Tory government was compelled to do just that to its 1964 repressive Police Commission Bill.